

Message Text

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ACTION IO-06

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ARA-06 EA-06 EUR-08 NEA-06 RSC-01 ISO-00

SP-02 AID-05 EB-04 NSC-05 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 SS-15

STR-01 OMB-01 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 FRB-01 INR-05

NSAE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-01 SIL-01 L-01 H-01 PM-03

AGR-05 OES-02 CU-02 DODE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

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INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 208

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

CINCLAND

USLO SACLANT NORFORK

USDEL SALT II GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 6682

DEPARTMENT PASS TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE: PFOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, XG

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-OCTOBER 28-NOVEMBER 1

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1. SUMMARY: THE CONFERENCE SANK DEEPER INTO A SITUATION OF GENERAL STAGNATION THIS WEEK, AS THE SOVIETS REJECTED THE ONE INITIATIVE WHICH MIGHT HAVE PROVIDED NEW IMPETUS--THE OFFER OF THE NEUTRALS TO PUT TOGETHER A "PACKAGE DEAL" COMPROMISE TO RESOLVE THE REMAINING CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN HUMAN CONTACTS. THE REASONS FOR THE SOVIET REJECTION WERE THE SUBJECT OF CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION, BUT MOST WESTERN DELEGATES CONCLUDED SIMPLY THAT THE SOVIETS THOUGHT THEY COULD MAINTAIN BETTER CONTROL OVER HUMAN CONTACTS NEGOTIATIONS UNDER EXISTING PRACTICES THAN BY GIVING THE NEUTRALS A BROAD MANDATE TO PROPOSE A COMPROMISE. ALTHOUGH THE IDEA OF A PACKAGE DEAL MAY BE REVIVED LATER, THE IMMEDIATE RESULT WAS CONFUSION AND A FLURRY OF PROCEDURAL DISCUSSIONS WHICH MADE SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS IMPOSSIBLE. MOREOVER, THIS STAGNATION SEEMED CONTAGIOUS. WORK ON ECONOMICS AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MOVED AHEAD SLOWLY, BUT IN OTHER SUBJECT AREAS, DESPITE EASTERN AND NEUTRAL EXHORTATIONS, PROGRESS WAS DIFFICUTL--OR TOTALLY LACKING. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--AT END OF WEEK SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES FOUND ITSELF DEADLOCKED ON NATIONAL MINORITIES SENTENCE, WITH YUGOSLAVS INSISTING MINORITIES MUST BE DESCRIBED AS HAVING COMMUNAL RIGHTS, AND FRENCH, GREEKS, BELGIANS AND SPANISH INSISTING THEY CAN ACCEPT SENTENCE ONLY IF INDIVIDUALS BELONGING TO NATIONAL MINORITIES ARE SUBJECT AND COMMUNAL INTERESTS CONCEPT IS DELETED. UNLESS WAY CAN BE FOUND AROUND DEADLOCK, OUTLOOK IS THAT SUBCOMMITTEE WILL REMAIN BOGGED DOWN IN HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE MUCH OF WEEK OF NOVEMBER 4, DESPITE FACT THAT RECORD 46 MEETINGS HAVE ALREADY BEEN DEVOTED TO SUBJECT, SINCE YUGOSLAVS INSIST SENTENCE TOUCHES THEIR BASIC INTERESTS. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION MADE LITTLE PROGRESS IN DISCUSSION OF ROMANIAN PARAGRAPH DESIGNED TO PRECLUDE WAR PROPAGANDA.

3. MILITARY SECURITY--SUBCOMMITTEE DEVOTED FOUR FORMAL SESSIONS TO THE FURTHER DISCUSSION OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES(CBMS), DIVIDING THE MEETINGS EQUALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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BETWEEN A DISCUSSION OF THE THRESHOLD FOR THE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS AND A DEBATE ON THE INTRODUCTION TO THE SECTION OF THE CSCE DOCUMENT DEALING WITH OTHER CBMS. ON THE FORMER POINT, NO PROGRESS WAS MADE AT ALL, AND ON THE LATTER EASTERN BLOC MADE IT CLEAR REPEATEDLY THAT THE ONLY OTHER CBM ENVISAGED WAS THE SPANISH PROPOSAL ON THE EXCHANGE OF MILITARY VISITS. ACCORDINGLY, IN THEIR VIEW, ONLY A

SIMPLE INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE WAS REQUIRED. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL EFFORTS TO MOVE TO NEGOTIATIONS ON SUBSTANCE CONTINUE TO BE FRUSTRATED BY WARSAW PACT UNWILLINGNESS TO BUDGE ON ANY POINT.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--FULL COMMITTEE DEVOTED ITS WEEKLY MEETING TO A TURKISH PROPOSAL FOR A PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH REFERRING TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF EUROPE. SOVIET AND OTHER EASTERN DELEGATIONS (INCLUDING BULGARIA BUT NOT ROMANIA) CONTINUED TO OPPOSE SUCH A REFERENCE. US, FRENCH, MALTESE, AND ROMANIAN DELS REITERATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSAL. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES HELD INITIAL DISCUSSION OF NEW EC TEXT ON KEY TRADE POLICY ISSUES, INCLUDING MFN. GDR AND HUNGARY TABLED A COUNTERDRAFT OF PARAGRAPHS RELATING TO MFN AND RECIPROCITY WHICH WOULD INVOLVE AN UNDERTAKING TO ENSURE MFN IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS. INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SUBCOMMITTEE REGISTERED A PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH ON THE BENEFITS OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION AND AN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ENCOURAGING THE ACCELERATION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON COOPERATION CONTRACTS. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE CAME TO TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON ORDER OF TEXTS, AND SWEDISH DELEGATION AGREED TO PRODUCE A MOCKUP SHOWING SEQUENCE OF REGISTERED PARAGRAPHS. ROMANIANS INSISTED NO FINAL DECISION ON SEQUENCE CAN BE TAKEN UNTIL A NEW ROMANIAN PARA ON ACCESS TO SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IS AGREED AND A SATISFACTORY OVERALL REFERENCE TO LDCS MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO REMOVE BRACKETS AROUND SIX ENTIRE PARAGRAPHS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS DID NOT MEET.

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5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE WENT THROUGH A SPATE OF BEHIND-THE SCENES PROCEDURAL MANEUVERING WHICH PREVENTED PROGRESS, AS THE NEUTRAL OFFER TO PUT TOGETHER A "PACKAGE DEAL" COMPROMISE, ACCEPTED BY THE EC-NINE LAST WEEK AS AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE NEARLY ALL OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS, WAS REJECTED BY THE SOVIETS. ALTHOUGH THE IDEA OF A HUMAN CONTACTS "PACKAGE" MAY BE REVIVED AGAIN AT A LATER DATE, THE SUBCOMMITTEE HAS NOW REVERTED TO ITS PREVIOUS WORK METHODS--A COMBINATION OF INFORMAL MEETINGS AND BILATERAL CONTACTS. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED TO BE STALLED ON WHAT HAD ORIGINALLY SEEMED TO BE A RATHER NONCONTROVERSIAL PROVISION PERMITTING THE DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL INFORMATION BULLETINS THROUGH EMBASSIES. THE SOVIETS HAVE SHOWN

LITTLE INTEREST IN SETTling THIS ISSUE SINCE THEY RENEGED ON THEIR EARLIER INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON IT. IN SUBCOMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION, BOTH FORMAL AND INFORMAL MEETINGS CONTINUED TO FOCUS ON LESS CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES AND LIMITED PROGRESS WAS ACHIEVED. AT WEEK'S END, FRENCH DEL WAS AUTHORIZED BY EC-NINE AND NATO GROUPS TO RESUME BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIETS ON CONTROVERSIAL WESTERN PROPOSALS DEALING WITH ACCESS TO CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS. AT SAME TIME, IN FACE OF RIGID SOVIET POSITIONS, NEUTRALS ABANDONED EFFORT TO RESOLVE MAJOR EAST/WEST DIFFERENCES OVER MINI-PREAMBLE TO EDUCATION TEXT.

6. MEDITERRANEAN--COORDINATING COMMITTEE HEARD COMMENTS BY SEVERAL DELEGATIONS ON MALTESE PROPOSAL FOR A MEDITERRANEAN MONITORING COMMITTEE. GENERAL TENOR WAS POLITE AND INTERESTED, BUT DISCUSSION OFFERED NO PROSPECT THAT CONCRETE CONSIDERATION COULD BE GIVEN TO SUCH AN IDEA IN CSCE. UK, FRENCH AND US DELS NOTED THAT MALTESE PROPOSAL WENT BEYOND THE MANDATE OF THE CONFERENCE.

7. COMMENT: THE SOVIET REJECTION OF THE NEUTRAL OFFER TO ASSEMBLE "A PACKAGE DEAL" COMPROMISE FOR HUMAN CONTACTS CAME AS A SURPRISE, SINCE ALL DELEGATIONS HERE HAVE BEEN UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS WERE ONCE AGAIN ANXIOUS TO MOVE THE CONFERENCE FORWARD TO CONFIDENTIAL

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AN EARLY CONCLUSION. WHILE THEY HAVE CONTINUED TO URGE RAPID PROGRESS, THE SOVIETS CLEARLY ELIMINATED--AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING--THE ONE CURRENT INITIATIVE WHICH MIGHT HAVE MADE THIS POSSIBLE. MANY WESTERN DELEGATES THOUGHT THE SOVIETS HAD MADE A TACTICAL MISTAKE, AND THIS SEEMS QUITE PLAUSIBLE. IN ANY CASE, THE SOVIETS EVIDENTLY BELIEVE IT WILL BE EASIER FOR THEM TO CONTROL THE EVOLUTION OF HUMAN CONTACTS NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH A CONTINUATION OF THE EXISTING NEGOTIATING TECHNIQUES THAN BY COMMISSIONING THE NEUTRALS TO DRAW UP A WIDE-REACHING COMPROMISE. THUS, AFTER THREE WEEKS OF ANTICIPATION AND PROCEDURAL MANEUVERING, DISCUSSION OF THE REMAINING HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUES WAS BACK WHERE IT HAD BEEN BEFORE AND ONCE AGAIN SOVIET BEHAVIOR WAS CONSISTENT WITH THEIR OVERALL CONFERENCE STRATEGY OF PUSHING FOR RAPID PROGRESS WHILE OFFERING NO COMMISSIONS TO ACHIEVE IT.

8. WHILE NO ONE DELIBERATELY SOUGHT TO SLOW DOWN PROGRESS ON OTHER SUBJECTS, THE SITUATION IN BASKET III INEVITABLY AFFECTED THE GENERAL WILL TO MOVE AHEAD IN OTHER KEY SUBJECT AREAS, SUCH AS THE PRINCIPLES, MILITARY

SECURITY AND FOLLOW-UP, ALL OF WHICH HAVE GROUND
TO A VIRTUAL STANDSTILL. THE ONE AREA WHICH APPEARED
TO BE MAKING REASONABLE HEADWAY WAS BASKET II (ECONOMICS,
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY), WHICH IS GENERALLY THOUGH TO
BE NEARING COMPLETION. BUT EVEN THIS GROUP OF SUBJECTS
COULD PROBABLY BE WRAPPED MORE QUICKLY IF THERE WERE
A GENERAL PERCEPTION THAT STAGE II AS A WHOLE WAS MOVING
TOWARD ITS CONCLUSION. AS ALWAYS, SUCH A PERCEPTION
DEPENDS ON THE WILLINGNESS OF THE SOVIETS TO ALLOW
PROGRESS IN BASKET III, AND UP TO NOW THEY HAVE RIGIDLY
OPPOSED THIS. END COMMENT. ABRAMS

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